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844 delivery is difficult, a medicine man is called in; he massages the abdomen in an effort to right the child in the womb.

After the delivery the attendants cut the cord and bathe and swaddle the baby in blankets. One of the men of the household buries the afterbirth in a deep hole outside the house.

846 After the birth the mother is not secluded in the menstrual hut as she was in the old days. She rests in bed from four to twelve days, or until she feels strong enough to resume her duties. Her first food following the birth should be a soup of roasted wheat and saguaro seeds. Until the baby has been taken to the medicine man, the mother is to eat no salt and nothing "sweet" or "sour." How strictly these rules are observed today is not known.

BIRTH CEREMONIES

852 Within three or four weeks after the infant's birth, his parents take him to a medicine man for the purification rite. At dawn of the date set by the shaman, which seems to depend on the phases of the moon, he draws a circle on the ground in which he seats mother and baby, and sometimes the father. They face east, as does the medicine man standing in front of them. The first part of his magic ritual is directed toward the rising sun. Then he turns, waves his sacred eagle feathers over the family, and gives each of them a mixture of magic white clay and water to drink. When the medicine man has given the baby a name (see chap. iv), the ceremony is concluded.

This is a simple rite and involves no elaborate preparation. As it is performed in private, only the child, the parents, and the medicine man being present, the villagers are probably unaware of the event at the time. However, it is extremely important that the rite be performed, and it is rarely omitted except by the strictest Presbyterian Papago. By this means the uncleanliness of baby and parents attendant upon birth is removed, and the health of the child and of all his relatives is safeguarded. The child who undergoes the rite will be industrious as well as strong. Even an unmarried mother, against whom feeling was rather bitter in the village because she was carrying on an affair with a married man, brought her baby to the medicine man. The father did not accompany her, but apparently the ceremony was regarded efficacious without him. However, some Papago are beginning to question the validity of the ceremony. One woman told an investigator that the Presbyterian children who had not been taken to the medicine man apparently grew up quite normal and healthy, but she then pointed to some sick children and remarked that "people said" they were not strong because their parents omitted the rite!

Since most Papago profess some Christian faith, the native birth ceremony

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is ordinarily followed—usually after some months—by baptism. Up to this time the child is called simply "baby," for the name bestowed by the medicine man is never used as a term of address. 852 [551]

Sonora Catholic godparents sprinkle the child with holy water, say Spanish prayers over him, and give him a Christian name, which may have been selected long since by the parents but is formally recognized as a gift of the godparents. They give the baby a new set of clothing and feed the relatives and friends who have gathered at the church. In return the parents present them with a basket of native manufacture. Most baptisms in the West are like this.

The procedure in a Roman Catholic baptism is similar, except that the priest performs the orthodox ceremony, and the godparents must have been baptized and (if spouses) married in the church. As noted in chapter vi, however, the Roman Catholic child may have two sets of godparents, and in this case the Sonorans will also baptize the child. Presbyterians follow the usual baptismal rites of their church.

INFANCY

The keynote of a Papago infant's training is indulgence. The Desert People believe that a little child should be happy at all times, and it is his mother's responsibility to keep him so. The attitude of other adults in the home is also compliant. Until the next child is born, the baby is king, and his wish is law. Various kinds of training begin after his second birthday, but weaning and denials are so handled that the child feels as little restraint as possible. 854

The baby goes wherever his mother does—to the neighbor's, to town, or to a fiesta. He is rarely out of her sight and never out of her hearing; he lies in a bed or in a hammock in the house or under the ramada, wherever his mother happens to be working. The hammock is merely a blanket folded over two ropes swung from the walls or posts; it has no stiff framework and thus is soft and comfortable. Usually the ropes are slung so low that the baby can see all that goes on around him, but the hammock is deep enough to be secure, and the child is tied in, with his arms left free. His mother or some other relative keeps him swinging gently. When the mother takes him away from home, she lays him diagonally on a little blanket and folds the corners loosely over his body and face. In cold weather he is often first rolled tightly in another blanket. Being wrapped up seems to give security to the infant and usually quiets a restless child.

A baby is in his mother's arms whenever she is not occupied with some household task. A busy mother who has no one to help her may carry her baby around on her hip while she does her work. When he is lying down, his slight-

[Text continues on p. 121. - Analyst]

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821 from *tcupɪ*, to sink). The winds coming from the south were muddy color
832 because they had picked up the dust from the original rubbish heap. Even
823 today the annual wind storm, which always comes from the south, is sometimes spoken of as being *spi'tema'*KI.

822 Papago men of one village who are sent to invite people from outside vil-
202 lages to participate in the Rain ceremony paint their faces black to disguise themselves. The invitation is not proferred by one individual to another, but by a messenger who merely represents the village giving the ceremony. This messenger is called *wuhyo tcu'*KI, face black. The speaker in the Rain ceremony greets the invited guests upon their arrival. He is painted with the colors of the rain clouds, white, red, gray, and muddy color, and also carries a stick striped with the same colors. These four are used together only in connection with the Rain ceremony.

822 The use of white clay at a child's reception into the family after the purifi-
●852 cation ceremony has also special meaning. The desert Papago use white clay,
773 but the Sonora Papago use a yellowish-white clay. Perhaps they lack the white variety, or possibly any light-colored clay is potent. The story of the first use of white clay as told among the desert Papago is as follows:

There was a place where water came out of the earth. The people did not know the reason, but the water ran out in increasing quantities. The situation grew dangerous. The people became more and more excited, but they did not know what to do. They sent out the medicine man. He said that the keeper of the sacred *vahcah*[3] had not been true to his teaching. The people decided to make an offering, the greatest one possible. They decided to make an offering of the keeper's two children. A four-cornered hole was dug, and the children were put in it. The children were told to dance while the older people sang. The men started to sing. The children danced. Water ran into the hole. The children kept on dancing. They did not look at the water. They were drowned. When the water went down, a layer of white clay remained. It was said to be the children. It was said to be good because the children were good and obeyed instructions. To this day the child that is given a taste of white clay will be good and obedient like the two sacrificed children.

822 The paragraphs to follow present brief descriptions of each of the colors to which a designation has been given. The order follows that given in the chart.

*White. cahstoh*A, almost white; *toh*A, white; *sihstoh*A, very white. The first and last colors are to be considered in their relation to the standard. *toh*A implies the lack of color; *cahstoh*A describes pale tints of any color even those that are more than a little tinged with color. It seems to mean whitish or off-white, color terms comparable to our blue-white, cream-white, oyster-white, and the like.

[3] *vahcah*, a long rectangular basket, not coiled, with a cover. In this are kept sacred objects such as Apache scalps, crystal rocks, and sticks tipped with down.